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ABSTRACT

Emphasizing the dedication with which Rutherford B. Hayes (1822-92) labored to achieve advancement in American public education, the biography discusses the historical and political events which highlighted his career. Describing Hayes as a man who stood above party politicking in his years in the White House (1877-81), the biography maintains that at the core of his interests was pacification of the country after the Civil War through provision of free public education to whites and blacks in both the North and South. The document is divided into six sections which describe Hayes' political life as Governor of Ohio, member of the U.S. House of Representatives, holder of numerous trusteeships in higher education, and which deal particularly with the Presidential years. Source materials for the biography included published secondary works on Hayes and unpublished dissertations. A chronological listing of important events in Hayes' life is presented in the appendix. (Author/DB)

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RUTHERFORD B. HAYES: HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN EDUCATION (THE PRESIDENTIAL YEARS)

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"He serves his party best who serves his country best."

R. B. Hayes

"Education - a debt due from the present to future generations."

R. B. Hayes

". . . President Hayes is often a dim figure, not enough of a nonentity to be laughed at, as Fillmore sometimes has been, nor incompetent enough, like Grant, to be abused."

Darwin H. Stapleton

The Campaign Of 1876

By June, 1876, as the conventioneers gathered in Cincinnati for the Republican Convention, the policy known as reconstruction was doomed. The Grand Old Party was reeling from the disarray caused by the excesses of the Grant administration scandals. With the Democrats controlling the House and with the Republican majority in the Senate considerably reduced, the Republicans contemplated seriously the possibility that they would lose the White House in the 1876 election year. The Democrats since 1874 had grown stronger, more organized, and pressed their efforts to overturn the resumption of specie payments that was scheduled to begin in 1879. The Democrats waved the banner of cheap money and inflationary policies as the way for the nation to fully recover from the hard times brought on by the crisis of 1873.

But, it was the South that stood as the main point of contention between the parties in that election year as they mustered their strength for the forthcoming campaign. The South had been raped by corrupt state governments and terrorized by the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. The northerners, and particularly the Republicans, were disillusioned and fatigued by the continuing Southern chaos.

The great military crusade of Lincoln had ended eleven years before, and federal bayonets were still in the South's heartland, and to what good purpose? The Republicans had poured manpower and money into the bottomless pit that was the Southern economy and government, and the returns had proven minimal at best.

The Republicans were increasingly convinced that all federal forces should be withdrawn from the South. The South must work out its own problems. Federal intervention had not succeeded over the past decade and it would not be continued any longer. The fervor, the commitment of the north was gone, dissipated. It had been a long war, an even longer reconstruction effort, and to what avail? Restoration of the South was absolutely essential to the survival of the nation, but the South would have to be responsible for its own restoration. Enough was enough and the northern Republicans were ready to call it quits!

Amidst the gathering of the political forces for the 1876 elections, the issue of public education had been brought into national focus as a campaign issue in the form of the Republican-sponsored Sixteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Republicans, fearful of increasing strength of the Roman Catholics within the Democratic Party, had proposed the amendment in 1875 to preserve the public educational enterprise in the nation from religiously-inspired interference. The amendment would clarify once and for all time the unequivocable place of public education

in America. The heart of the amendment was unmistakable:

> No public property and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State Territory, district, municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to or made or used for the support of any school, educational, or other institutions under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination . . ."[1]

While the amendment was later unable to achieve a two-thirds vote in the Senate and died an abrupt death, it nevertheless provided the Republicans with opportunities to hold themselves up as protectors of the inviolability, the sanctity of American public education, while condemning the Democrats as the tools of a revived papal conspiracy being foisted the American people. Thus, the issue of the survival of public education was a prime political target during 1876.

As the Republicans convened for the convention in Cincinnati, they were gravely concerned for the fate of the nation as well as for the survival of their party. The platform, upon which the candidate would offer himself, contained seventeen planks, none of which were hotly contested.[2] In fact, many Republicans felt that it was the least offensive platform that could be constructed, while others felt that the platform was blatantly "thin and weak."[3]

The nominations were made and the balloting commenced with the end result that the two frontrunners, James Blaine of Maine and Roscoe Conkling of New York destroyed each

other's chances in the maneuvering. After Blaine and Conkling had faded, the nomination went to Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Governor of the State of Ohio, who had been nominated as a favorite son candidate from Ohio, and who won the nomination in a classic case of a dark horse running away with the prize.

Governor Hayes was not an unknown political quantity, as has been discussed in detail elsewhere. He had just been reelected to an unprecedented third term as Governor of Ohio against heavy Democratic opposition in 1875. His margin of victory, though slight, was responsible due to his strong advocacy of public education in Ohio and in opposition to the Democratic-inspired Geghan Bill. He had a solid, if not spectacular, record of achievement as governor throughout his three terms, especially in the areas of: penal reform, fiscal responsibility (Hard money), minority representation, and expansion of educational opportunity. He had been a bulwark in support of national Republican policies and, as a solid party regular, he was a highly attractive commodity to the convention.

Untainted by the Grant administration scandals, Hayes was, to put it simply, a safe candidate; he could not be connected in any way to the mess in Washington, D.C. In addition to all this, he was a veteran Union commander with a respected war record and had been wounded in the field. A successful Republican politician, untainted, a veteran, a happily married family man, a party regular, all combined

to make Hayes the presentable nominee of the Cincinnati convention.

As one views the Hayes' years, from 1877 to 1881, one is struck with the unswerving dedication with which the President methodically sought to fulfill the Republican platform of 1876. The consistency between the platform objectives, the activities of the Hayes' administration, and his own self-appraisal of his term as President is remarkable. And, for our purposes here, it is noteworthy and characteristic of his administration that he constantly held up free, universal education as the only, truly legitimate cure for the divided nation's ills. Education and opportunity to free, public education was to become the panacea espoused from the White House throughout his four years in office.

Interestingly enough, Hayes perceived himself as a non-partisan President whose efforts were to be directed at binding up the nation's wounds once and for all. The issue of <u>restoring</u> the South, <u>not reconstructing</u> it, would be the essential component in restoring the nation's credibility abroad and in its belief in itself. Only a person who stood above mundane party politicking could have seriously entertained thoughts as to the success of this venture.

Even before accepting the party's nomination, Hayes committed himself to be always deserving of the nation's confidence as its President.[4] He was, after all, the

nation's President, not just the President of the North! To Carl Schurz, he clearly indicated his desire to serve only one term in the Presidency, and, that if elected, he would not seek a second term. Hayes pointed out to Schurz:

> . . . I really think that a President could do more good in one term if untrammelled by the belief that he was fixing things for his election to a second term, than with the best intentions could be done in two terms with his power embarrassed by that suspicion or temptation during his first four years.[5]

Hayes felt that an honest, open approach to the problems that confronted the country would result in the restoring of its self-confidence. He, too, was dismayed by conditions that prevailed both North and South. In his address at the commencement at Ohio University in Athens the week he sent his letter of acceptance to the Republican Party, he condemned that:

> . . . this is justly said to be an age of shams, of show and extravagance; an age of paint, varnish, and gilding, where the homely virtues of economy, industry, and plain common honesty are forgotten, and the vices of shows and extravagance prevail, alas, too often.[6]

He urged upon all the graduates to internalize in their total lives that, ". . . honesty is not only the best policy, but its own sufficient and very great reward . . ."[7]

That Hayes took the Republican Platform seriously as his charge for his administration, if elected, was clearly indicated in his letter of acceptance. While affirming his support of all the planks in the platform,[8] Hayes isolated

those that he felt particularly strongly about: civil service reform, the resumption of specie payments, the public school amendment, and the proposed Southern policy. Hayes stressed that the public schools were to be "placed beyond all danger of sectarian control or interference."[9]

However, it was to the party's proposed Southern policy that Hayes directed most of his efforts in his letter of acceptance. His policy would be to attain the permanent pacification of the country and to attain the complete protection of all citizens in the exercising of their constitutional rights. Calling attention to the former rebellious states, Hayes claimed that:

> What the South most needs is "peace," peace depends upon the supremacy of the law . . . The moral and national prosperity of the Southern States can be most effectually advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the right of all, by all - a recognition without reserve or exception.[10]

Hayes assured the Southerners that his administration would take their truest interests to heart, both the interests of white and colored people, and that he would endeavor to create a policy that would "wipe out forever the distinction between North and South in our common country."[11]

The Disputed Election

The campaign between Hayes and the Democratic nominee, Samuel Tilden, was vigorous, yet "relatively free of mud-slinging."[12] The Constitutional crisis which was precipitated by disputed electoral votes from four states was

eventually resolved by a Congressionally appointed Electoral Commission which awarded in an eight to seven vote the disputed electoral votes to Hayes, thereby giving him the Presidency. Both Hayes and Tilden stayed out of the clamor over the work of the Electoral Commission. It has been generally agreed that Hayes took no part in the Commission's decision, nor compromised himself in behind the scenes maneuvering for votes. His unusual manner of acquiring the Presidency was never an issue during his administration.[13]

While Hayes publicly took no active role in the election dispute and its resolution, he was fearful that if Tilden did win the Presidency from the Commission, that disorder would continue in the South and that general prosperity for both Southern whites and colored people would be delayed for years.[14] If Tilden won, Hayes' hopes of "conciliating" Southern whites on the basis of obedience to the law and on the subject of equal rights, his hopes of dividing the Southern whites, and thereby protecting the colored people, would be dashed.[15]

As Hayes saw it, as the dispute continued, the electorate in general dreaded a Democratic victory for fear of what might transpire in the South.[16] Though at times he viewed Tilden's victory as inevitable, he nevertheless held that he, Hayes, "could do more than any Democrat to put Southern affairs on a sound basis."[17] For if the Democrats succeeded in gaining control of the White House,

immigration and capital from the North and from foreign sources would not materialize and the South could not prosper. In short, the election of Hayes would provide conditions beneficial to the South economically and materially; a Republican victory was the "only course which can give (the South) peace and prosperity."[18]

While waiting for the Electoral Commission's decision, Hayes continued to reaffirm his determination to "do my duty uninfluenced by selfish ambition or interest."[19] Calling upon all his colleagues to be calm and deliberate, he asserted that it would always be his objective to do what was best for the country.[20] His only wish was for a strong, wise, and successful administration, and that all personal considerations were to be subordinated to that objective.[21] Above all, however, Hayes pointed repeatedly during this interim period that he had made no deals to obtain the Presidency, and that he was and always would be "free absolutely from committals as to persons or policies."[22]

As the electoral dilemma ground down to its ultimate resolution, Hayes addressed himself to clarifying his thoughts on methods of restoration in the South. The first order of business to improve the South was a national effort to the "means of education."[23] Praying for the ability to be firm and wise and just for the "true interest of all the people of the United States,"[24] Hayes constructed the argument that the South was to be made prosperous "by a cheerful acquiescence in the results of the way, by peace,

by education, by improvements."[25] A Hayes' administration would be "friendly and encouraging" with regard to the Southern question.[26]

The First Year, 1877

By February 17, 1877, Hayes was feeling that he was assured of a favorable vote from the Electoral Commission and commenced working on his inaugural address and on his cabinet selections. He was determined to place a Southerner, one who was a Democrat, in his cabinet to indicate his favorable disposition toward all in the South. He was committed to a public "readiness to recognize all Southern people, without regard to past political conduct, who will go with me heartily and in good faith in support of" the principles of firmly asserting and maintaining the rights of blacks according to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.[28]

Hayes' Southern policy had, at this early stage, two requirements: that the protection and welfare of the blacks in the South by the three amendments was to be "sacredly observed and faithfully enforced"; and that the South was to be made once again prosperous and happy, through "economy, honesty, and intelligence in their local governments" and through the "encouragement of immigration, education, and business and industry."[29]

On March 5, 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes took the oath of office as President of the United States and delivered in

his inaugural address a reminder that civil service reform and a sound currency were to be high priority items in his administration. He cited the amicable settlement of the disputed election as further proof to the world that only in a government where the "right of suffrage is universal" could such peaceful and lawful adjustment be possible.[30] But, the major part of his speech dealt with the "motives" and the "important ends" to be gained with regard to the "permanent pacification of the country." The terrible effects of the recent Civil War were still present in the South and must be eliminated, largely by the efforts of local governments in the South. Calling for a disregard of party-lines and appealing to the Southern local governments to submit loyally and heartily to the Constitution and the "laws of the Nation and the laws of the States themselves," Hayes asserted that the choice was one of government, social order, and peaceful industries and happiness on the one side or no government and barbarism on the other.[31]

Hayes cited the moral obligation of both the national government and the Southern local governments in the protection of the recently emancipated population of the South. He called for political renewal and for material development to aid in restoring the South. A major point, however, was his connecting the restoration of the South to the creation of universal educational opportunity. Education and restoration had to go hand in hand for the salvation of the South,

as well as universal education and the permanent pacification of the entire country.

> . . . at the basis of all property . . . lies the improvement of the intellectual and moral condition of the people. Universal suffrage should rest upon universal education. To this end, liberal and permanent provision should be made for the support of free schools by State governments, and if need be, supplemented by legitimate aid from national authority.[32]

Hayes was to be, during his tenure in office, the model President for all Americans, concerned not for partisan politics, but dedicated to the birth of a new, fully united nation. Federal interference would cease in the Southern states, for "My policy is trust, peace, and to put aside the bayonet."[33] Hayes would gamble on reviving local self-government in the South, which meant "the determination by each State for itself of all questions as to its own local affairs."[34]

To give public notice of his faith in the ability of the blacks and to give public affirmation to the South of his dedication to their safety and prosperity, Hayes nominated Frederick M. Douglass as Marshall of the District of Columbia. Only peaceful methods could restore harmony and good feelings between sections and races. His support of Douglass, the first black nominated to federal office, Hayes felt, "should be accepted as an indication of a purpose to advance the equal rights of the people of the entire country."[36]

The first three weeks of the Hayes' administration were filled with daily cabinet meetings to wind up disputed matters in South Carolina and Louisiana.[37] On April 2, the President directed the removal of federal troops from the South.[38] Hayes felt that, if within a period of two or three months no further outbreaks occured in the South, then hopes for his pacification policy's success were real. By April 3, he felt that "other subjects" could be brought before the cabinet.[39]

By late April, 1877, Hayes was seeking "pledges" from the Southern "governors, legislatures, press, and people" that the Amendments would be "faithfully observed" to the end that the "colored people shall have equal rights to labor, education, and the privileges of citizenship.[40] By May, the President felt that his policy was truly gaining converts among Southern whites,[41] and directed federal officials to make appointments to their services that would promote efficiency and meet the approval of "all classes of good citizens." Hayes was optimistic as to the beneficial results of such public good deeds:

> The appointment of colored men to places . . . for which they are qualified, will tend to secure to people of their race consideration and will diminish race prejuduce.[42]

By July, most of Hayes' attention was directed to the labor disputes and the Indian disorders in the West.[43] In both cases, federal troops were called to intervene and put down the situations by force. He was fearful that such

an action might be seen as a renewal of intent to utilize federal military authority elsewhere, especially in the South. But, force, to Hayes, was only a temporary kind of remedy. The real remedy lay in the field of further education:

> Can't something (be) done by education of the capitalists, by wise general policy to end or diminish the evil?[44]

By the end of summer, Hayes moved to go before the people to speak of his Southern policy. He would show himself as President of all the people and would articulate what resided in the conscience of the good, loyal American everywhere in the country.

During August, he made a "non-political" swing through the northeast. He called upon the people to recognize that the administration's Southern policy was but an experiment that needed a trial period during which the "good sense and judgment of the people" would prevail. Bygones were bygones and such an experiment was necessary if ever Northerners were to hope to have any influence in the future of the South. Even now, after only six month, improvements in the South were noted.

> I am advised through the teachers in the South who have gone forth from Oberlin College that their condition has much improved during the past few months, and there is a marked improvement in the social element of all the better classes of society.[45]

Hayes constantly downplayed party affiliations, and called upon his audiences to see themselves as "all Americans, rather than all Democrats or Republicans. It is noteworthy

that Hayes had with him on his national tours his cabinet member, David M. Key, Postmaster General, a Southern Democrat from Tennessee, whom he held forth as a shining example of the "new" white Southerner, believing in the Amendments, believing that there was slavery no longer in the South and that all men of all colors were to be equal and, more important, that "he is ready to carry out these principles."[46]

Urging that a real union had to be one that was a "union of hearts . . . and friends," Hayes pledged that the old harmony and concord between North and South would return.[47] We, in America, were to be "hereafter indestructably one nation."[48]

To talk of such things in the North was one thing, yet to tour the South where the experiment was to occur was quite another strategy; one, however, deisgned to speedily get acceptance from the Southern peoples, black and white, of his policy of pacification and restoration, and to raise the issue of universal education as the essential balm for heal old wounds. In September, 1877, Hayes and his party of cabinet members headed into Dixie.

The first major stops of the Southern tour were Louisville, Kentucky, and Nashville, Tennessee. On September 19, asserting that his visit to the Southern states was to increase the friendship between the federal government and the people of the South, Hayes expressed the hope that news accounts of his visit would "increase the knowledge of

the people of all the States," about the new administration's dedication to peace and harmony in the nation.

The day for peace had arrived and the former combatants were to work together to achieve that end. Hayes applauded Nashville's efforts in providing so many institutions of learning for both blacks and whites, as he felt that "this is precisely the thing which of all others . . . will do the most to bring about the exact condition we want in this country."[49] Increased business in the South would come as a result of emigration between the states and immigration from abroad that would be naturally attracted to the South. The secret of such regeneration according to President Hayes:

> Let there be a little school house in every neighborhood, on every side hill, on some side of it - the shady if possible - and obtain a teacher nine months in the year. Such school houses scattered everywhere, will be a better advertisment of your country than any other that costs the same amount of money, which can be contrived. Therefore, my friends, I rejoice that you are doing so much in Nashville for the cause of education.[50]

In comments specifically directed to blacks in the audience, Hayes claimed that "peace at last reigns supreme and unbroken throughout this whole country," and that the Southern black was safer now in the South than at any time with the presence of federal bayonets. The South must regain its full partnership with the rest of the country, because one neglected area in the nation would ultimately bring down the entire nation into financial ruin. The

blacks had a definite role to play in the rejuvenation of the ruined Southland. "Let (education) have your support, and with this and with peace prosperity is yours."[51]

In Chattanooga, the President referred to the "additional incentive" to the development of the South that the establishment of neighborhood school houses would provide for the attraction of new capital and labor.[52] Recollecting his travels through Kentucky to Tennessee, Hayes remarked of the boys and girls waving American flags before their school houses and of rendering patriotic songs as he passed. A new day of American patriotism was dawning in the nation with this renewed "attachment to the Union and an affection for the principles of a republican Government."[53]

In Atlanta, Hayes continued to seek the good will of the Southerners, claiming that there was nothing to separate North and South any longer. Slavery was the crime of the previous generations and the new generation of Americans were right the previous wrongs.

> Now let us come together; let each man make up his mind to be a patriot in his own home and place . . . upon the great question of the union of the States and the rights of all citizens, we shall agree forevermore.[54]

Hayes returned to Washington, D.C., felling as if the Southern tour had indeed been a triumphant one. Immediately upon his return to the capital, he addressed himself to specifying educational needs and clarifying the obligation of the federal government to meet those needs as regards another problem group, the Indian population in America.

Urging the Sioux Indian delegation to swallow the bitter pill of tribal relocation, Hayes advised them, as their "good friend," that the Indian, to be secure, must "do as the white people do."

> I desire you to have schools for your children, so that they may be educated to take care of themselves, and become industrious and prosperous like the children of my people . . . You must work and learn to produce for yourselves that which you need. Cattle and hoes and ploughs will be more useful to you than ponies and guns. To be educated so as to know how to work and to gain their own living by raising cattle and tilling the soil will be better for your children than hunting buffaloes or dancing the war dance.[55]

Assured of the cooperation of the Indians in the West and convinced that the Southern question was on a "good footing," Hayes felt that in mid-fall all was proceeding rather nicely.[56] The nomination to the Peabody Education Fund Board of Trustees by the Southern members of that group and the unanimous confirmation of his place on the board was but another sign to Hayes that his "pacification measures were approved by the whole country." He regarded his prospective work with the Peabody Board as "exceedingly honorable and pleasant employment."[57] However, reports brought before the regular cabinet meetings continued to detail the ongoing outrages against the black population of the South.[58] These notices were particularly painful to Hayes as his policies had all but eliminated the use of the federal military for the protection of black citizens.[59] Hayes would not renege on his promise to permit the Southern states to create their own social order and,

thus, he continued to call for the education for all Americans, including blacks and Indians, and particularly in what he termed "industrious habits."[60]

In December, Hayes presented his first annual message to Congress and continued to plead for compliance with his administration's policy. Hitting again on his Southern policy, civil service reform, and hard money, he indicated his continuing belief upon educational success as the source of national salvation. He noted the plight of the Western tribes with great sensitivity and sympathy and called for Congress to provide for "the establishment and maintenance of schools to bring them under the control of civilized influences." Good Indians who proved themselves by supporting their families by their own labor and who detached themselves from their tribal relations ought to be given full citizenship and permitted to participate in the benefits of the Homestead Act.[61] He even requested that the U.S. Army be supplied with "more abundant and better . . . reading matter."[62]

Hayes called for some type of supplemental aid from the National Treasury to the public schools of the District of Columbia[63] and to technical and higher education across the country and to local systems of education in the South. Common schooling and higher and technical education ought to receive aid from the federal government so as to provide for the national welfare and to maintain our prominence among the leading nations of the world community.

Hayes pointed out that questions of the future and their settlement depended "upon the virtue and intelligence of the people." One would hope in vain for the success of a government when one did not insure the intelligence of "those who are the source of power."

Decrying the fact that one-seventh of the American population were illiterate, Hayes urged the establishment of a federal university in Washington, D.C. He called for proper monetary support of the proposed Smithsonian museum and for the expansion of the Library of Congress. He called for legislation that would enable federal property to be utilized for the purposes of "available and efficient . . . instruction," with regard to invention, surger, education, and agriculture." Hayes ended by asserting that the capital should be seen as more than a mere "political centre," but should provide opportunities to:

> . . . promote the general intelligence of the people and increase the conditions most favorable to the success and perpetuity of our institutions.[64]

The Second Year: 1878

With a reasonably successful first year behind him, Hayes determined to move on the offensive even more in 1878, as he declared, "It is better to attack than to defend."[65] His veto against the Democratic-inspired Silver Bill in late February gave notice to all that he would not waver from his platform commitments nor his convictions derived from past governmental service and experience. Though he perceived

himself as not liked by the Washington politicians, he was sobered and sustained by the positive affirmation by the people in general across the land.[66]

Hayes was determined to continue his "non-partisan" type of administration, feeling that, in the long run, it would sustain the Republican Party for, "The party out of power gains by all partisan conduct of those in power."[67] His number one accomplishment after a full year in office was "Peace, safety, order in the South, to an extent not known for half a century."[68] Subsequent litigation about the Electoral Commission decisions in the election dispute had favored the Commission and Hayes felt that this vindicated his faith in the South's ability to reenter the mainstream of American life.

> For the first time the better classes have overruled the violent. Pacification begins to tell.[69]

The "ruffian class" in the South had had its day and now the public opinion of the "better elements" would hereafter reign supreme.[70]

Hayes was convinced that his policy was working successfully, albeit slowly; clearly in 1878, the South wanted "peace, education, improvements, and immigration."[71] The new imperative of his administration was to articulate the national call to education.

> Education is our greatest present national concern. General education is the best preventative of the evils now most dreaded. In the civilized countries of the world, the question is how to distribute most generally and equally the property of the world. As a rule, where education

> is most general the distribution of property is most general . . . As knowledge spreds, wealth spreads. To diffuse knowledge is to diffuse wealth. To give all an equal chance to acquire knowledge is the best and surest way to give all an equal chance to acquire property.[72]

When Hayes was invited to Hampton Institute in Virginia, he finally unveiled his educational plan for the Southern black. The truest test of the black's success in the South was their acquisition of property and wealth and their practice of thrift. The freedmen and black women needed "something more than the learning of the schoolhouse." An "industrial school" like Hampton Institute would provide the "training" needed. While illiteracy would be overcome in such a school, more important was to be the inculcation of Benjamin Franklin's virtues of "industry, self-reliance, self-control, economy, (and) thrift."[73]

Hayes, speaking at Hampton, enthusiastically praised the work of its students, teachers, and patrons, and assured the blacks that the current generation of Americans held as their duty the rearing up of the former slaves to the full status of American citizenship. While the black had learned to work under slavery, now the times demanded that he "learn to save." Whether it be before students at Howard University in Washington, D.C. or before the Hampton students, the charge must still be the same, "Be determined to work - to earn - to save."[74]

The imperative for the Southern black was to become as much like the white man as possible and as quickly as possible. The same entreaty applied also to the Indian, except the Indian had proven himslef an honorable adversary, and so, justice and good faith were to dictate all dealings between the federal authority and the tribal congregations. The errors of the past were to be corrected and though it would cost money, it would prove to be money well spent. For the Indian, ". . . let there be the most liberal provision for his physical wants, for education in its widest sense, and for religious instruction and training."[75]

In October, 1878, Hayes spent his birthday in New York City attending his first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund and was impressed with the good and wise work of the board members and their agent, Reverend Barnas Sears. While ever increasingly optimistic about the success his pacification policies in the South, he was nevertheless gravely concerned when reports of white intimidation of blacks came to his attention. Elections were still being manhandled in the South largely, according to Hayes, because the political division was also the color division; whites were Democrats and blacks were Republicans. The division was not based on political princples but on color, alone. Division of the whites, that is, the establishment of a distinct white Republican element in the South, and education would prove the turning point in the South.

> The whites have the intelligence, the property, and the course which make power. The negroes are for the most part ignorant, poor, and timid.[77]

While Hayes had generally relied upon the Attorney-General and his marshals to deal with acts of persecution in the South, his view had always been that swift prosecution of those charged and vigorous sentencing of those found guilty were part and parcel of his Southern policy.[78] The elections held in 1878 in the South and especially in Louisiana contained so many allegations of criminal acts against black voters, that Hayes, with the full backing of his cabinet proceeded to stir the Attorney-General to even broader efforts in the prosecution punishment of guilty parties.[79] Hayes went on record with dispatch to show all that "vigorous enforcement of all the laws and the protection of every man in the exercise of his political rights are held to be entirely consistent with everything the President has ever said."[80]

Hayes repeated again in his Second Annual Message to Congress that he would hold no truck with violators of the Constitutional Amendments, "No means within my power will be spared to obtain a full and fair investigation of the alleged crimes, and to secure the conviction and just punishment of the guilty."[81] While the United States had not yet reached "complete unity of feeling and reciprocal confidence" between North and South, progress was being made in that direction and it was moving at an every accelerating

pace. While public opinion would override sectionalism and prejudices, Hayes would do his share through the federal apparatus to secure and protect black rights in the South.

In his second annual message to Congress, Hayes again called for the provision of education opportunity for the Indians of the West. The experiment in taking fifty Indian children away from the tribes for education in an elementary English program and in agricultural and other work pursuits for the purpose of returning them to their tribes to serve as interpreters, instructors, and examples was proving of great interest, and could well be the solution much sought to the "Indian problem."

> It is also a well-authenticated fact that Indians are apt to be peaceable and quiet when their children are at school, and I am gratified to know, from the expressions of Indians themselves and from many concurring reports, that there is a steadily increasing desire, even among Indians belonging to comparatively wild tribes, to have their children educated.[82]

Hayes also called for an increase in pay for soldier-teachers employed at the various post-schools and for an increased funding for the building of schools and libraries at the different army posts about the country.[83]

Hayes included special note of the Report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Education indicating "gratifying progress throughout the country . . . with respect to the extension of the advantages of the common-school system." Calling for Congress to enact proper measures for supplementing local school districts in the states with

national aid through federal money, he exclaimed, "To education more than to any other agency we are to look, as the resources for the advancement of the people in the requisite knowledge and appreciation of their rights and responsibilities as citizens . . ."[84]

Pursuant to his objective of making the capital a model educational center for the country, Hayes again pleaded for more monies for the expansion of the Library of Congress, for the establishment of a museum by the Smithsonian Institution, for additional buildings and teachers for the Reform School of the District of Columbia, and for the donation of more land for the support of District of Columbia public schools.[85]

The Third Year: 1879

As Hayes entered his third year as President, public sentiment seemed to be continuing to improve with regard to his administration. Black emigration from the South had picked up and Hayes felt that "Its effect is altogether favorable." Such black movement from the South to other parts of the nation, especially the Northwest, where Hayes encouraged them to obtain homes and employment would "force the better class of Southern people to suppress the violence of the ruffian class, and to protect colored people in their rights."[86] Ruffians were not to be tolerated by Hayes in any situation, even to the point of Hayes bringing before the cabinet the issue of hazing at West Point and Annapolis.

The decision was to crush out the practice and reduce all hazers to the "lowest ranks in the Academy," an action which the President guaranteed would be rigidly enforced.[87]

In September, Hayes toured with his cabinet members the states of the Central West and spoke on the theme of nationalism, a topic which was "uproariously" received. With but a year and a half remaining in his term, Hayes rededicated himself to:

> . . . try to live during my remaining years a useful life. To make others happy and to make men and women better to the extent of my power - this must be mai aim.[88]

In Kansas, he visited the university at Lawrence and in Parsons, Kansas, he rejoiced that the best thing that Kansas had shown him had been their schools.

> There is nothing better than that to show anywhere; that is a good thing . . . There is no better advertisement for a community or a city . . . the very best class of emigrants do go where they have good schools, and so you have done right with me.[89]

Hayes' Third Annual Message on December 1, 1879, announced the success of the Hampton Institute experiment in the education of Indian children of various tribes at the Virginia campus. So promising were the results that the old federal calvary barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, had been turned into an Indian school educating 158 Indian children. Plans were being made for the establishment of a similar school for the children of the Pacific coast Indian tribes at Forest Grove, Oregon. Hayes requested both federal funds to be allocated to their operation and invited

private philanthropy to assist.[90]

Hayes, in this message, as in his previous one, pointed with pride to the extension of education opportunities across the country, in particular the common-school systems of the newer states and the universities and colleges of the agricultural and mechanical arts.[91] He, once again, argued for funds to care for the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and for the building of additional facilities for the District of Columbia public schools.[92]

The Last Year: 1880

President Hayes, early in his final year in office reiterated his position against a second term:

> . . . if the nomination and the election and the commission were offered to me, I would refuse under all circumstances to depart from my avowed purpose not to be my own successor. In no way could I do the country so great a service as by setting a precedent against a second term. Several Presidents have declared themselves when candidates, or when elected, opposed to a second term. I shall be the first who had adhered to the rule when the question arose at the end of a first term.[93]

Hayes appeared at the festivities commemorating Hampton Institute's twelfth anniversary in Virginia. Hayes was, as always, effusive in his praise of Armstrong's work at the school. He saw Hampton as solving the problem of the South by eliminating the "only two enemies America has any cause to fear . . . sectionalism and race prejudice." Hampton was doing the "good work":

> We would not undertake to violate the laws of nature, we do not wish to change the purpose of God in making these differences of nature. We are willing to have these elements of our population separate as the fingers are, but we rejoice to see them united for every good work, for National defense, one, as the hand.[94]

The one great theme that would dominate his last year in office was to be that of education. At the commencement ceremonies of his alma mater, Kanyon College, Gambier, Ohio, Hayes warmly praised the work of the "small colleges" and reassured the graduates that in practical life, merit was discovered and determined and that, as graduates from a small school, they need not dread the competition of the future.

> The student of the small college who has diligently and thoroughly mastered the studies of his courses will surely find that he is at no disadvantage as compared with the greatest of what are known as the great-Colleges in the training, elementary knowledge, and habits of thought and study which are requisite for success in ther professions or in any field of learning or science which he may choose to enter. There are compensations in the little colleges for the well known advantages of the larger institutions.[95]

With morality and confidence in the federal government restored and with the integrity of the office of President strengthened, Hayes commended a nationwide tour beginning in the East that would have as its main target the Pacific Coast States, never before visited by a U.S. President. His finale theme of the administration was to be the call for universal, free education for all Americans. Invited to address the Yale College Alumni in July, Hayes pointed to the school people as the real leaders of the nation:

> Any administration, and any country, is more indebted to the man who is engaged in educating the people than it is to those who are its executive and administrative officers . . . The real government resides at last in the men who . . . stand at the helm, and have charge of the boilers and engine - the men who form and guide the public opinion which propels the ship and directs its course. The head of such an institution as this, (Yale), where moral and intellectual culture are combined, is the man who forms men, who control not only the figure-head but control the nation.[96]

At Columbus, in August, Hayes, speaking before a gathering of Ohio Union Army veterans, unveiled his cuase of universal education:

> To perpetuate the Union and abolish slavery were the work of the war. To educate the uneducated is the appropriate work of peace. As long as any considerable numbers of our countrymen are uneducated, the citizenship of every American in every State is impaired in value and is constantly imperilled . . .
>
> The soldier of the Union has done his work, and has done it well. The work of the schoolmaster is now in order.[97]

Where free access to education is found in the country, there also will be found increasing population and growing prosperity, as well as complete support of the equal-rights Amendments. Such areas attracted immigration. The recent census, Hayes charged, clearly exposed the lack of immigration into the South, rather population was leaving the former slave-holding states.

The fruits of the Union victory of arms would never be harvested until the former slaves and the large number of non-slaveholding whites obtained an education so as to enhance their exercise of liberty and the rights of full

citizenship. While the South had made much progress, as long as the evils of slavery lived on in those regions because of the ignorance of the people, "great and permanent prosperity" would be impossible. Citing data from the Peabody Educational Found, Hayes indicated that two million Southern children were without the "means of instruction" and that in the face of this situation of "grossest ignorance, neither poverty stricken states nor individual philanthropy would be enough to vercome the conditions. "Nothing short of the wealth and power of the Federal Government will suffice to overcome the evil."[98]

To truly complete the victory of the Civil War, the means of education were to be amply "provided for (in) all parts of our country":

> Ignorance is the enemy most to be dreaded by the friends of free government. Ignorant voters are powder and ball for the demogogues. The right to vote will lose its value in our country if ignorance is permitted permanently to prevail in any considerable protion of it. The schoolmaster alone can abolish the evils which slavery has left in the South. Universal education is the only safe foundation for universal fuffrage. Men cannot be fitted for the duties of citizenship in a republic without free schools.[99]

For his tour of the Pacific Coast States, Hayes prepared only one speech to deliver and that would be on "national aid to education - to the education of the colored and other illiterates of the South," all for all in similar circumstance in the country.[100] Skill and intelligence atthe ballot boxes in a democracy could be

obtained only through "training and education," and Hayes was absolutely convinced that without such training and education, "wise and honest self-government is impossible."

> To guard the sacred truth of equal rights we must go one step further. We should furnish to all our countrymen the means for that instruction and knowledge . . .[101]

Kicking off his Pacific tour in Canton, Ohio, on September 1, Hayes took great pains to make his audience aware of the magnitude of the evil of ignorance to be erased. In the South, alone, almost two and a half million children were growing up without schooling of any type. As the South was too poor to educate their own, it was "the sacred duty, as it is in the highest interest" of the country to accept the "grave responsibility" for their education.

In the Western Territories, there were over two hundred Indians, most of whom were uncivilized. The country was faced with a choice either of exterminating the Indians or of absorbing them into American citizenship "by means of the civilizing influences of education." Hayes made it clear that he preferred that they be cared for by the "civilizing department of the Government, the Bureau of Education."

The Territories were filled with illiterate citizens in increasing numbers; in New Mexico alone over fity-two thousand of those over ten years of age were illiterate. To Hayes, it was clear, that the General Goverment was to

"provide for the education" of the territorial citizens.

Foreign immigrants were pouring into the nation at a rate that was expected to be some five million new arrivals between 1870 and 1880. Hayes estimated that from twenty to twenty-five percent of the immigrants were illiterate, another million that soon would be expected to take the reins of full citizenship. The difficulties of the South prepared us for grave trouble in the immediate future, if the aid of the General Government were withheld from supporting universal education.[102]

Moving westward, Hayes exposed the cause of universal education and the need for federal aid to sustain it as his "hobby" in an address at Ottumwa, Iowa. A new policy was to be inaugurated on the important topic that "knowledge was power," and "where universal suffrage prevails, there must be universal education."

> There is much for the General Government to do before some of the States can educate themselves. The people who have never known the benefits of education are those who never will until it is brought to their doors. Some sections of the country never had any education. We have cast on the colored people of the South the duty of citizenship, and we can't complete that great work until we give them the means of becoming as great as they may with education. If we would make reconstruction complete we must also give every Southern white the same means of becoming a power, and not a machine.[103]

In Burlington, Iowa, Hayes defended his hobby of interest in universal education as one apart from the political convictions of individuals or party organizations. The country needed "intelligence among the masses in all

parts of the community. Free schools fit the voter for the performance of his duties."

> As you are affected by the degree of intelligence in the district adjoining you, so are you also affected by the intelligence or ignorance of the people in any state in the union. This want cannot be supplied until the General Government gives some attention to the matter.[104]

In California, Hayes stated that he expected to obtain much new information and instruction from his travels along the costal states.[105] In Sacramento, he characterized California as the "vanguard of progress" for the rest of the nation and cautioned:

> If you are to have one race, equal suffrage, universal suffrage, you can only do it by having universal education. Religion, morality, and knowledge are essential to good government, and therefore, free schools should be encouraged. With the motto of equal rights and universal education, every community is safe.[107]

Up the coast at Albany, Oregon, Hayes admired that the coastal states had the advantage of being far in advance of many of the rest of the states, even though they were relatively young. Citing particularly the advanced "social arrangements," Hayes declared confidently:

> "You have good schools. Free schools are the corner-stone of our institutions. Good schools will attract the best class of citizens to your state. I look to them as the safey of the future.[107]

In Portland, Oregon, Hayes was amazed and surprised at the numerous and prosperous "churches, schoolhouses, stores, and dwellings and at the thought that you had accomplished what had taken other cities one hundred years in less than a quarter of a century."

> This afternoon it was my happiness to have the schools of your city exhibited before me. They are the foundation stones of greatness which have been laid by you. I feel safe in predicting that Oregon and the city of Portland will for ever be remembered and regarded by the people of the United States with satisfaction and pride.[108]

Hayes made a special point of visiting the new Indian school in Forest Grove, Oregon, based on the Hampton Institute experiment in Indian education. He wished to see first hand the educational program given to the "wards of this nation" and was especially impressed with the other learning institutions in the town. Hayes regarded Oregon's educational endeavors very favorably, and with regard to the new Indian school:

> . . . I think it is the feeling of every good citizen, that it is wise and just to make good citizens of these Indian boys and girls . . . We should prepare them to become a part of the great, American family. If it turns out that their destiny is to be different, we shall at least have done our duty. This country was once theirs . . . We have displaced them and are now completing that work. I am glad that Oregon had taken a step in the right direction. I am glad that she is preparing Indian boys and girls to become good, law-abiding citizens.[109]

In the Territory of Washington, at Walla Walla, Hayes expressed one of his fundamental hopes always associated with his many travels in his Presidency:

> All of sectional animosity and all of bitterness that there may be between a people living widely apart disappears as we come together and meet each other face to face, and shake each other's hands.[110]

Returning to his home in Fremont, Ohio, to cast his vote in the Presidential election in support of the Republican nominee, James Garfield, Hayes urged all citizens who

believed that the national unity he had gained should be preserved and that the prosperity he had nutured should be continued to cast their ballots for the Republican Party. Was it not the Republicans "who think that every child in the country should be educated at the expense of the country"? A Republican victory would assuredly be a victory for "good money and for education," a victory that would ultimately benefit Republicans and Democrats.[111]

With a Republican President assured in the White House for another four years, Hayes called for the same kind of support he had received, in his efforts in the cause of equality and universal education, to be bestowed upon his successor.[112]

In November, at the dedication of Pardee Hall on the campus of Lafayette College, Easton, Pannsylvania, President Hayes reminded the audience that beyond the common education necessary to make "good citizens" there was higher education in the college, the university, and the scientific schools and that these were institutions that the federal government did not "in any large degree aid." Higher educational opportunities were items which every people must have that is to be really great and renowned." He commended the "benefaction and voluntary contribution of wealthy citizens" that founded and endowed these essential societal institutions.[113]

In appearing before the New England Society of Brooklyn, in December, Hayes proclaimed that:

> . . . the best New England idea in the present condition of suffrage and citizenship is that which required Government to furnish all of the young sufficient instruction to enable them to be good citizens . . . The schoolmaster is as essential in a republic to its safety and good government as a legislator, a judge, a soldier, or a sheriff.[114]

> The New England idea is universal education. Let it not be confined to any one State or section. Let it be the national idea and be embodied in the legislation and institutions of the whole nation. Liberal education will follow free-school education as surely as the light of day comes with the sun.[115]

Through his own labors of the last four years, Hayes felt "these New England ideas, everywhere accepted and received, and prevailing, and with just and equal laws, administered under the watchful eyes of educated voters," the country embarked upon a new era of peace, prosperity, and harmony.[116] In his Fourth Annual Message, his last, to Congress, Hayes expanded upon the theme of the educational accomplishments of his administration more than ever before. The plea, as before, to Congress was to provide legislation and appropriations to "supplement local educational funds" in the states.

> . . . the best and surest guarantee of the primary rights of citizenship is to be found in that capacity for self-protection which can belong only to a people whose right to universal suffrage is supported by universal education . . . (Hayes was) firmly convinced that the subject of popular education deserves the earnest attention of the people of the whole country . . . Whatever Congress can fairly do to promote free popular education ought to be done. Wherever general education is found, peace, virtue, and social order prevail, and civil and religious liberty are secure.[117]

The government Indian schools were highly successful and ought to be expanded. Post schools at military

installations had increased to meet increasing needs of enlisted men and their dependents.[118]

The Commissioner of Education had reported increased support of public education about the country and that public interest in educational affairs continued to grow. Hayes noted that, in particular, growing interest was expressed in industrial training, colleges of theoretical and practical instruction in the agricultural and mechanical arts. Again, Hayes called upon Congress to act to set up some system of providing supplemental aid to public education where needed in the nation. He called Congress' attention to the continuing needs of the District of Columbia public schools, as well as the needs of the Library of Congress and other educational agencies within the District of Columbia.[119]

As Hayes left the Presidency, he looked forward to resumption of "private life" and stood ready for "higher duties." These duties proved to be a nationally, even more active role in the promotion of education, in particular, industrial education and especially in the Southern states for American blacks. He also pursued an active, participatory role in policy making in trusteeships at various institutions of higher education.

When asked how would he pass his time in private life, Hayes replied:

> A man with proper notions and training, with books and grounds and neighbors, and with the interests that are crowding around all who have

a sense of duty to their fellow man, will have more trouble to find time for his work than to find work to occupy all the time at his command.[120]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Politics and the School Question: Attitude of the Republican and Democratic Parties in 1876, pp. 1-9.

[2]McKee, Thomas Hudson. The National Conventions and Platforms of all Political Parties, 1789 to 1905. Baltimore, Friedenwald Company, 1906, 6th edition, revised and enlarged, pp. 170-173.

[3]Letter, Charles Nordhoff to R. B. Hayes, June 22, 1876.

[4]R. B. Hayes' Diary, June 23, 1876.

[5]Letter, R. B. Hayes to Carl Schurz, June 27, 1876.

[6]The Fremon Journal, Fremont, Ohio, July 7, 1876.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Letter of Acceptance, R. B. Hayes to Republican Nomination Committee, July 8, 1876, manuscript, p. 1.

[9]Ibid., p. 3.

[10]Ibid., p. 4.

[11]Ibid., p. 5.

[12]Stapleton, Darwin H. "An Assessment of Historians' Perspectives of Rutherford B. Hayes," p. 78.

[13]Ibid., p. 79.

[14]Diary, op. cit., November 11, 1876.

[15]Ibid., October 4, 1876.

[16]Ibid., November 11, 1876.

[17]Ibid., November 12, 1876.

[18]Letter, R. B. Hayes to Guy M. Bryan, November 13, 1876.

[19]Letter, R. B. Hayes to Carl Schurz, December 7, 1876.

[20]Diary, op. cit., December 6, 1876.

[21]Letter, R. B. Hayes to John Sherman, December 16, 1876, p.1.

[22]Ibid., p. 2.

[23]Letter, R. B. Hayes to Carl Schurz, January 29, 1877.

[24]Diary, op. cit., January 31, 1877.

[25]Ibid., February 9, 1877.

[26]Letter, R. B. Hayes to John Sherman, February 15, 1877.

[27]Diary, op. cit., February 17, 1877.

[28]Ibid., February 18, 1877.

[29]Ibid., February 24, 1877.

[30]Hayes, R. B. Inaugural Address, manuscript, p. 9.

[31]Ibid., p. 3.

[32]Ibid., p. 4.

[33]Diary, op. cit., March 15, 1877.

[34]Ibid., March 23, 1877.

[35]Ibid., March 16, 1877.

[36]Speech, to Delegation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, White House, March 23, 1877.

[37]New York Tribune, New York, April 2, 1877.

[38]Tribune, op. cit., April 3, 1877.

[39]Tribune, op. cit., April 4, 1877.

[40]Diary, op. cit., April 22, 1877.

[41]Ibid., May 3, 1877.

[42]Letter, R. B. Hayes to John E. King, May 7, 1877.

[43]Hayes, R. B., personal notes, Cabinet meeting, July 27, 1877.

[44]Diary, op. cit., August 5, 1877.

[45]Speech, Fayetteville, Vermont, manuscript, August 17, 1877.

[46]Speech, Plymouth, New Hampshire, manuscript, August 21, 1877.

[47]Speech, Concord, New Hampshire, manuscript, August 22, 1877.

[48]Speech, Nashua, New Hampshire, manuscript, August 23, 1877.

[49]Speech, Nashville, Tennessee, manuscript, September 19, 1877, p. 3.

[50]Ibid., p. 4.

[51]Ibid., p. 7.

[52]Speech, Chattanooga, Tennessee, manuscript, September 20, 1877, p. 3.

[53]Ibid., P. 4.

[54]Speech, Chattanooga, Tennessee, manuscript, September 22, 1877, p. 5.

[55]Speech, to Sioux Indian Delegation, White House, manuscript, September 28, 1877, p. 2.

[56]Diary, op. cit., October 4, 1877.

[57]Ibid., October 7, 1877.

[58]The National Republican, Washington, D.C., October 23, 1877.

[59]National Republican, op. cit., October 26, 1877.

[60]Speech, to Ponca Indian Delegation, White House, manuscript, November 10, 1877, p. 2.

[61]First Annual Message to Congress, manuscript, December 3, 1877, p. 31.

[62]Ibid., p. 27.

[63]Ibid., p. 35.

[64]Ibid., p. 38.

[65]Dairy, op. cit., January 19, 1878.

[66]Ibid., March 1, 1878.

[67]Ibid., March 12, 1878.

[68]Ibid., March 12, 1878.

[69]Ibid., March 21, 1878.

[70]Letter, R. B. Hayes to Mrs. Hayes, March 21, 1878.

[71]Diary, op. cit., May 14, 1878.

[72]Ibid., May 15, 1878.

[73]Ibid., May 19, 1878.

[74]Speech, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, manuscript, May 23, 1878, pp. 1-2.

[75]Diary, op. cit., July 1, 1878.

[76]Ibid., October 1, 1878.

[77]Ibid., October 5, 1878.

[78]National Republican, op. cit., November 2, 1878.

[79]The Providence Daily Journal, Providence, Rhode Island, November 13, 1878.

[80]The New Nork Times, New York, November 15, 1878.

[81]Second Annual Message to Congress, manuscript, December 2, 1878, pp. 4 - 5.

[82]Ibid., p. 20.

[83]Ibid., p. 14.

[84]Ibid., p. 25.

[85]Ibid., pp. 25-27.

[86]Diary, op. cit., May 25, 1879.

[87]The Providence Morning Star, Providence, Rhode Island, July 23, 1879.

[88]Diary, op. cit., October 5, 1879.

[89]Providence Daily Journal, op. cit., September 25, 1879.

[90]Third Annual Message to Congress, manuscript, December 1, 1879, pp. 33-34.

[91]Ibid., p. 37.

[92]Ibid., pp. 38, 40.

[93]Diary, op. cit., April 11, 1880.

[94]Speech, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, manuscript, May 20, 1880.

[95]Speech, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, manuscript, June, 24, 1880.

[96]Speech, Yale College Alumni Dinner, New York, manuscript, July 1, 1880.

[97]Speech, Ohio Soldiers' Reunion, Columbus, Ohio, manuscript, August 11, 1880, p. 4.

[98]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[99]Letter, R. B. Hayes to unidentified, August 16, 1880.

[100]Diary, op. cit., August 24, 1880.

[101]Letter, R. B. Hayes to Frank Hatton, August 24, 1880.

[102]Speech, Reunion of the 23rd Ohio Veterans, Canton, Ohio, manuscript, September 1, 1880, pp. 1-4.

[103]The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Illinois, September 3, 1880.

[104]The Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye, Burlington, Iowa, September 3, 1880.

[105]Speech, Oakland, California, manuscript, September 9, 1880, p. 1.

[106]The Daily Record-Union, Sacramento, California, September 23, 1880.

[107]The Portland Oregonian, Portland, Oregon, October 1, 1880.

[108]Ibid., October 2, 1880.

[109]Ibid., October 4, 1880.

[110]Ibid., October 6, 1880.

[112]Hayes' Speech at Cleveland, Ohio. Great Republican Speeches of the Campaign of 1880. Staten Island Publishing Company, Stapleton, New York, 1881, p. 67.

[113]New York Daily Tribune, op cit., December 1, 1880.

[114]Dairy, op. cit., December 4, 1880.

[115]Ibid., December 8, 1880.

[116]Speech, First Annual Dinner of the New England Society of Brooklyn, Brooklyn, New York, manuscript, December 21, 1880.

[117]Fourth Annual Message to Congress, manuscript, December 6, 1880, p. 4.

[118]Ibid., p. 32.

[119]Ibid., pp. 45-48.

[120]Diary, op. cit., December 26, 1880.

APPENDIX

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Born: October 4, 1822, Delaware, Ohio
Died: January 17, 1893, Fremont, Ohio

1830-36,	District School Delaware, Ohio
1836-37,	Norwalk Academy (Seminary), Norwalk, Ohio
1837-38,	Isaac Webb's School, Middletown, Connecticut
1838-42,	Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio
1842	Kanyon College, Valedictorian
1843-45,	Dane Law School, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
1845	Harvard University, Bachelor of Law
1845	Kenyon College, Master of Arts
1868	Kenyon College, honorary Doctor of Laws
1877	Harvard University, honorary Doctor of Laws
1845	admitted to the Ohio bar
1857-59,	elected City Solicitor, Cincinnati, Ohio
1859-61,	reelected City Solicitor, Cincinnati, Ohio
1861	defeated for reelection
1861	commissioner Major, 23rd Ohio Infantry, U.S. Army
1861	promoted, Lieutenant-Colonel
1862	promoted, Colonel
1863	promoted, Brigadier-General
1865	promoted, Brevet Major-General
1864-66,	elected, U.S. Representative, Second Ohio Congressional District, Hamilton County, Cincinnati, Ohio
1866-67,	reelected, U.S. Representative
1868-70,	elected Governor of Ohio
1870-72,	reelected Governor of Ohio
1872	defeated, U.S. Representative
1876-77,	reelected Governor of Ohio
1877-81,	elected, President of the United States
1877-93,	member, Board of Trustees, Peabody Fund
1881-93,	member, Board of Trustees, Green Springs Academy (Green Springs Normal School), Green Springs, Ohio
1881-93,	member, Board of Trustees, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
1881-93	member, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States

1882-93, President, Board of Trustees, Slater Fund
1883-93, member, Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion
1883-96, President, Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion
1884-93, member, Board of Trustees, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio
1884-93, President, National Prison Association
1884-93, member, Western Reserve Historical Society
1884-93, member, American Historical Association
1886 member, Executive Committee, Board of Trustees, Peabody Fund
1887-93, member, Board of Trustees, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1889 Chairman, Board of Trustees Committee to Study Relations Between Peabody Normal School and the University of Nashville
1892-93, President, Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society
1893-93, President, Board of Trustees, The Ohio State University

Member, Board of Trustees, Kanyon College, Gambier, Ohio
Chairman, National Prison Congress
President, Ohio Board of State Charities
Founder, Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Society
Member, Eugene Rawson Post, Grand Army of the Republic
Member, Croghan Lodge, International Order of Odd Fellows
Founder, Birchard Library, Fremont, Ohio
Member, Official Board, First Methodist Church, Fremont, Ohio